

# Unit 8

# A Time of Upheaval

1954–1975

## CHAPTER 24

The New Frontier and the Great Society

1961–1968

## CHAPTER 25

The Civil Rights Movement

1954–1968

## CHAPTER 26

The Vietnam War

1954–1975

## CHAPTER 27

The Politics of Protest

1960–1980

## Why It Matters

Americans in the 1960s sought to remake their society. African Americans protested for civil rights and social equality and were soon joined by women's groups, Hispanics, Native Americans, and the disabled, all of whom demanded more equal treatment. At the same time, the federal government launched several new programs, including Medicare, designed to end poverty; and the Supreme Court took a more active role in society, issuing important rulings on civil rights.





*Demonstrators block the entrance to the House of Representatives as part of the "May Day" protest against the Vietnam War, 1971*

# The New Frontier and the Great Society

## 1961–1968

**SECTION 1** The New Frontier

**SECTION 2** JFK and the Cold War

**SECTION 3** The Great Society

*Future President John F. Kennedy waves to a crowd while campaigning, January 1960.*

**U.S. PRESIDENTS**

**U.S. EVENTS**

**WORLD EVENTS**

Kennedy  
1961–1963



**1961**

- Bay of Pigs invasion
- Peace Corps is created



1961

**1961**

- Construction of Berlin Wall begins

**Oct. 1962**

- Cuban missile crisis

**Nov. 1963**

- Kennedy is assassinated; Johnson becomes president

Johnson  
1963–1969



1963

**1964**

- South Africa's Nelson Mandela sentenced to life in prison





## MAKING CONNECTIONS

# Can Government Fix Society?

President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson supported programs intended to end poverty and racism at home and promote democracy abroad. The War on Poverty and the Great Society programs marked the greatest increase in the federal government's role in society since the New Deal. Kennedy's aid programs for developing nations also marked a dramatic shift in American foreign policy towards promoting economic development abroad.

- *How do you think Presidents Kennedy and Johnson changed American society? What programs from the 1960s still exist today?*

**1965**

- Congress establishes Medicare and Medicaid

**1966**

- Congress passes the Child Nutrition Act

**1968**

- Lyndon Johnson decides not to run for reelection

1965

1967

1968

**1966**

- Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India


**1968**

- Student riots paralyze France

## FOLDABLES

**Categorizing Information** Make a Four-Door Book Foldable listing the various programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Sort the programs into these four categories: War on Poverty, Health and Welfare, Education, and Consumer and Environmental Protection. As you read the chapter, list programs inside your Foldable under the four major categories.



**History**  **ONLINE Chapter Overview**  
Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) to preview Chapter 24.

Section 1

The New Frontier

Guide to Reading

**Big Ideas**  
**Government and Society** Under the programs and policies of the Kennedy administration, women, persons with disabilities, and others gained a greater share of civil rights.

- Content Vocabulary**
- missile gap (p. 824)
  - reapportionment (p. 828)
  - due process (p. 829)

- Academic Vocabulary**
- commentator (p. 824)
  - arbitrarily (p. 829)

- People and Events to Identify**
- New Frontier (p. 825)
  - Earl Warren (p. 828)

**Reading Strategy**  
**Categorizing** As you read about the presidency of John F. Kennedy, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the domestic successes and setbacks of his administration.

Successes	Setbacks

In the presidential election campaign of 1960, John F. Kennedy promised to move the nation into “the New Frontier.” After narrowly winning the election, Kennedy succeeded in getting only part of his agenda enacted.

The Election of 1960

**MAIN Idea** In 1960 a youthful John F. Kennedy narrowly defeated Richard M. Nixon in the presidential election.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever watched a televised political debate? Did you pay attention to the candidates’ looks and mannerisms? Read on to learn how television changed people’s perception of candidates.

On September 26, 1960, at 9:30 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, an estimated 75 million people sat indoors, focused on their television sets, watching the first televised presidential debate. The debate marked a new era of television politics.

During the 1960 presidential race, both parties made substantial use of television. The Democrats spent more than \$6 million on television and radio spots, while the Republicans spent more than \$7.5 million. Not everyone was happy with this new style of campaigning. Television news **commentator** Eric Sevareid complained that the candidates had become “packaged products” and declared, “the Processed Politician has finally arrived.”

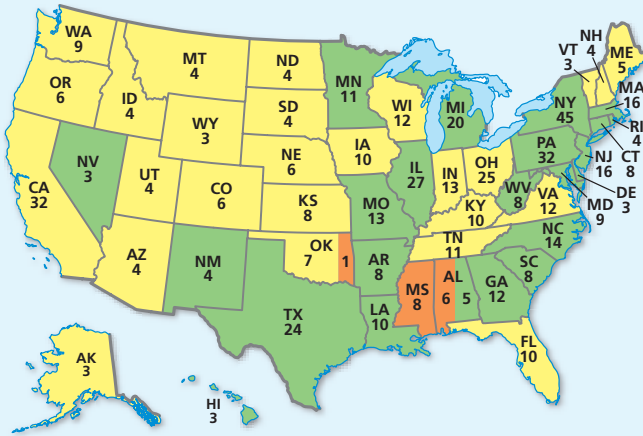
The candidates in the first televised debate differed in many ways. The Democratic nominee, John F. Kennedy, was a Catholic from a wealthy and influential Massachusetts family. Richard M. Nixon, the Republican nominee and Eisenhower’s vice-president, was a Quaker from California; he had grown up in a family that struggled financially. Kennedy seemed outgoing and relaxed, while Nixon struck many as formal and even stiff in manner.

The campaign centered on the economy and the Cold War. Although the candidates presented different styles, they differed little on these two issues. Both promised to boost the economy, and both portrayed themselves as “Cold Warriors,” determined to stop the forces of communism. Kennedy expressed concern about a suspected “**missile gap**,” claiming the United States lagged behind the Soviets in weaponry. Nixon warned that the Democrats’ fiscal policies would boost inflation, and that only he had the necessary foreign policy experience to guide the nation.

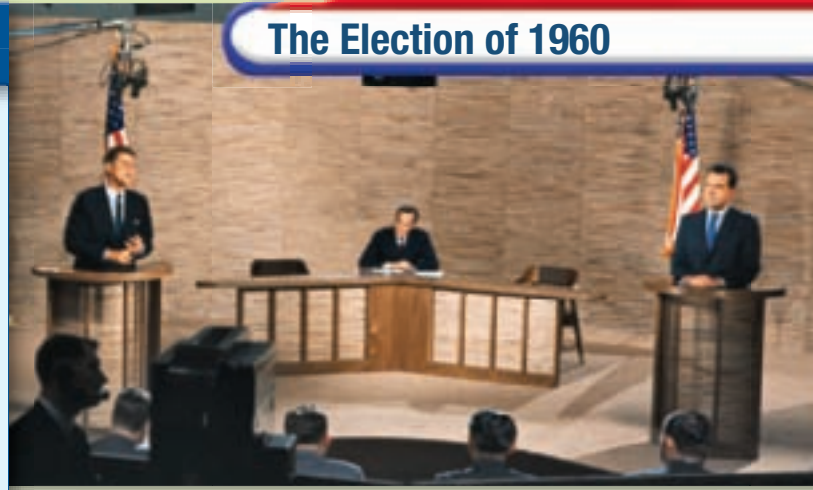
Kennedy’s Catholic faith became an issue, as Al Smith’s Catholicism had in 1928. The United States had never had a Catholic president, and many Protestants had concerns about Kennedy. Kennedy decided to confront this issue openly in a speech.

## The Election of 1960

## The Presidential Election of 1960



Presidential Candidate	Popular Votes	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Votes
Kennedy	34,227,096	49.72%	303
Nixon	34,107,646	49.55%	219
Byrd	501,643	0.73%	15



▲ The Kennedy-Nixon debates marked the first televised presidential campaign. Senator Kennedy matched Vice President Nixon's well-known debating skills, grasped facts about the way government worked, and showed he cared about Americans.

## Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing Visuals** What region of the nation went most solidly Republican?
- Analyzing Visuals** Which states went at least partially independent?

"I believe in an America where the separation of the church and state is absolute," he said, "where no Catholic prelate would tell the president, should he be a Catholic, how to act."

The four televised debates influenced the election's outcome, one of the closest in American history. Kennedy won the popular vote by 119,000 out of 68 million votes cast, and the Electoral College by 303 votes to 219.

Despite his narrow victory, John F. Kennedy captured the imagination of the American public as few presidents had before him. During the campaign, many had been taken with Kennedy's youth and optimism, and his Inaugural Address reinforced this impression.

In the speech, the new president declared that "the torch has been passed to a new generation" and called on citizens to take a more active role in making the nation better. "My fellow Americans," he exclaimed, "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

**Reading Check** **Identifying** What were the two main issues of the 1960 presidential election?

## Kennedy Takes Office

**MAIN Idea** Despite an uneasy relationship with Congress, President Kennedy managed to get parts of his domestic agenda passed.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you think there are enough women in top government positions today? Read on to learn how Kennedy's programs were designed to help women.

Upon entering office, President Kennedy set out to implement a legislative agenda that became known as the **New Frontier**. He hoped to increase aid to education, provide health insurance to the elderly, and create a Department of Urban Affairs. He would soon find that transforming lofty ideals into real legislation was no easy task on Capitol Hill.

Although the Democrats had large majorities in both houses of Congress, Kennedy was unable to push through many of his programs. Kennedy had trailed Nixon in many Democratic districts and had not helped many Democrats get elected. Those who did win, therefore, did not feel they owed him anything.



Southern Democrats—who were a large part of the Democratic majority in Congress—viewed the New Frontier as too expensive and, together with Republicans, were able to defeat many of Kennedy’s proposals. Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican minority leader from Illinois, claimed that Kennedy’s efforts to increase the power of the federal government would push the nation down an ominous path.

## Successes and Setbacks

Kennedy did achieve some victories, particularly in his efforts to improve the economy. Although the economy had soared through much of the 1950s, it had slowed by the end of the decade. In an effort to increase economic growth and create more jobs, Kennedy advocated deficit spending. The new president convinced Congress to invest more funds in defense and space exploration. Such spending did indeed create more jobs and stimulate economic growth.

In addition, Kennedy asked businesses to hold down prices and labor leaders to hold down pay increases. The labor unions in the steel industry agreed to reduce their demands for higher wages, but several steel companies raised prices sharply. In response, Kennedy threatened to have the Department of Defense buy cheaper foreign steel, and instructed the Justice Department to investigate whether the steel industry was fixing prices. The steel companies backed down and cut their prices, but the victory had strained the president’s relations with the business community.

Kennedy also pushed for a cut in tax rates. When opponents argued that a tax cut would help only the wealthy, Kennedy asserted that lower taxes meant businesses would have more money to expand, which would create new jobs and benefit everybody. “A rising tide lifts all boats,” Kennedy explained to illustrate how tax cuts would help all Americans.

Congress refused to pass the tax cut because of fears that it would cause inflation. Congress also blocked his plans for health insurance for senior citizens and federal aid to education. However, they did agree to Kennedy’s request to raise the minimum wage and his proposal for an Area Redevelopment Act and a Housing Act. These acts helped to create jobs and build low-income housing in poor areas.

## Expanding Women’s Rights

The issue of women’s rights also received attention during the Kennedy administration. In 1961 Kennedy created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. The commission called for federal action against gender discrimination and affirmed the right of women to equally paid employment. The commission proposed the Equal Pay Act, which Kennedy signed in 1963. The commission also inspired the creation of similar groups on the state level to study the status of women.


Although he never appointed a woman to his cabinet, a number of women worked in prominent positions in the Kennedy administration, including Esther Peterson, assistant secretary of labor and director of the Women’s Bureau of the Department of Labor.

## A New View of the Disabled

In 1961 Kennedy convened the President’s Panel on Mental Retardation. The panel’s first report, containing 112 recommendations, called for funding of research into developmental disabilities and educational and vocational programs for people with developmental disabilities; a greater reliance on residential—as opposed to institutional—treatment centers; and grants to provide prenatal services to women in low-income groups to promote healthy pregnancies.

Responding to the report, Congress enacted the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963. This legislation provided grants for construction of research centers; funds to train educational personnel to work with people with developmental disabilities; and grants to states for construction of mental health centers.

In 1962 Eunice Kennedy Shriver, the president’s sister, began a day camp at her home for children with developmental disabilities. Camp Shriver, as it was first known, offered people with disabilities a chance to be physically competitive. That effort later grew into the Special Olympics program. The first Special Olympics Games were held in Chicago in 1968.

 **Evaluating** Why did Kennedy have difficulty getting his agenda enacted?



# ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

## Does Each Vote Really Count?

★ ***Baker v. Carr*, 1962**

★ ***Reynolds v. Sims*, 1964**

### Background of the Cases

Although many more Americans were living in urban areas, most states had not redrawn their political districts to reflect this shift. This gave rural voters more political influence than urban voters. In *Baker v. Carr*, the Supreme Court ruled on whether federal courts had jurisdiction in lawsuits seeking to force states to redraw their electoral districts. In *Reynolds v. Sims*, the court decided whether uneven electoral districts violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

### How the Court Ruled

In *Baker v. Carr*, the Supreme Court ruled that federal courts can hear lawsuits seeking to force state authorities to redraw electoral districts. In *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Court ruled that the inequality of representation in the Alabama legislature did violate the equal protection clause. These rulings forced states to reapportion their political districts according to the principle of “one person, one vote.”

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### The Court's Opinion

“Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. As long as ours is a representative form of government . . . the right to elect legislators in a free and unimpaired fashion is a bedrock of our political system. . . .

And, if a State should provide that the votes of citizens in one part of the State should be given two times, or five times, or 10 times the weight of votes of citizens in another part of the State, it could hardly be contended that the right to vote of those residing in the disfavored areas had not been effectively diluted.

—Justice William Brennan, Jr., writing for the court in *Reynolds v. Sims*



▲ The 1962 Supreme Court. Seated left to right, Associate Justices Tom Clark and Hugo Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Associate Justices William O. Douglas and John Harlan; standing, left to right, Associate Justices Byron White, William Brennan, Potter Stewart, and Arthur Goldberg. Justices Byron White and Arthur Goldberg were appointed by Kennedy.

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Dissenting Views

“As of 1961, the Constitutions of all but 11 States . . . recognized bases of apportionment other than geographic spread of population. . . . The consequence of today’s decision is that . . . state courts, are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment. . . . It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States. . . . [The Court] says only that ‘legislators represent people, not trees or acres,’ . . . But it is surely equally obvious . . . that legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect the place where the electors live. . . . These decisions also cut deeply into the fabric of our federalism.”

—Justice John Marshall Harlan dissenting in *Reynolds v. Sims*

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Summarizing** What is the main idea of the majority decision in *Reynolds v. Sims*?
2. **Explaining** Why does Justice Harlan disagree with the majority in *Reynolds v. Sims*?
3. **Making Inferences** How do you think reapportionment according to “one person, one vote” changed state politics?



# Warren Court Reforms

**MAIN Idea** Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court issued a number of decisions that altered the voting system, expanded due process, and reinterpreted aspects of the First Amendment.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you ever watch cop shows in which police officers read suspects their “Miranda rights”? Read on to learn about the origin of this process.



For further information on the Supreme Court cases referenced on this page, see pages R58–R61 in **Supreme Court Case Summaries**.

In 1953 President Eisenhower nominated **Earl Warren**, governor of California, to be Chief Justice of the United States. Under Warren’s leadership, the Supreme Court issued several rulings that dramatically reshaped American politics and society.

## “One Man, One Vote”

Some of the Warren Court’s more notable decisions concerned **reapportionment**, or the way in which states draw up political districts based on changes in population. By 1960, many

more Americans resided in cities and suburbs than in rural areas. Yet many states had failed to change their electoral districts to reflect that population shift.

In Tennessee, for example, a rural county with only 2,340 voters had one representative in the state assembly, while an urban county with 133 times more voters had only seven. Thus, rural voters had far more political influence than urban voters. Some Tennessee voters took the matter to court and their case wound up in the Supreme Court. In *Baker v. Carr* (1962), the Court ruled that the federal courts had jurisdiction to hear lawsuits seeking to force states to redraw electoral districts.

The Supreme Court subsequently ruled, in *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), that the current apportionment system in most states was unconstitutional. The Warren Court required states to reapportion electoral districts along the principle of “one man, one vote,” so that all citizens’ votes would have equal weight. The decision was a momentous one, for it shifted political

## What Were the Major Decisions of the Warren Court?

### Civil Rights

*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)

*Baker v. Carr* (1962)

*Reynolds v. Sims* (1964)

*Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* (1964)

*Loving v. Virginia* (1967)

Declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional

Established that federal courts can hear lawsuits seeking to force state authorities to redraw electoral districts

Mandated that state legislative districts be approximately equal in population

Upheld the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provision requiring desegregation of public accommodations

Forbade state bans on interracial marriage

### Due Process

*Mapp v. Ohio* (1961)

*Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)

*Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964)

*Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)

Ruled that unlawfully seized evidence cannot be used in a trial

Established suspects’ right to a court-appointed attorney if suspects were unable to afford one

Affirmed right of the accused to an attorney during police questioning

Required police to inform suspects of their rights during the arrest process

### Freedom of Speech and Religion

*Engel v. Vitale* (1962)

*Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963)

*New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964)

Banned state-mandated prayer in public schools

Banned state-mandated Bible reading in public schools

Restricted circumstances in which celebrities could sue the media

## Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Interpreting** How did *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Reynolds v. Sims* affect the nation?
- 2. Summarizing** What three major policy areas did the Warren Court’s decisions affect?

power from rural and often conservative areas to urban areas, where more liberal voters resided. The Court's decision also boosted the political power of African Americans and Hispanics, who often lived in cities.

## Extending Due Process


In a series of rulings, the Supreme Court began to use the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. Originally, the Bill of Rights applied only to the federal government. Many states had their own bills of rights, but some federal rights did not exist at the state level. The Fourteenth Amendment states that "no state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." **Due process** means that the law may not treat individuals unfairly, **arbitrarily**, or unreasonably, and that courts must follow proper procedures when trying cases. Due process is meant to ensure that all people are treated the same by the legal system. The Court ruled in several cases that due process meant applying the federal bill of rights to the states.

In 1961 the Supreme Court ruled in *Mapp v. Ohio* that state courts could not consider evidence obtained in violation of the federal Constitution. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court ruled that a defendant in a state court had the right to a lawyer, regardless of his or her ability to pay. The following year, in *Escobedo v. Illinois*, the justices ruled that suspects must be allowed access to a lawyer and must be informed of their right to remain silent before being questioned by the police. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) went even further, requiring that authorities immediately inform suspects that they have the right to remain silent; that anything they say can and will be used against them in court; that they have a right to a lawyer; and that, if they cannot afford a lawyer, the court will appoint one for them. Today these warnings are known as the Miranda rights.

## Prayer and Privacy

The Supreme Court also handed down decisions that reaffirmed the separation of church and state. The Court applied the First Amendment to the states in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962). In this ruling, the Court decided that states could not compose official prayers and require those prayers to be recited in public schools. The following year, in *Abington School District v. Schempp*, it ruled against state-mandated Bible readings in public schools. Weighing in on another issue, the Court ruled in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) that prohibiting the sale and use of birth-control devices violated citizens' constitutional right to privacy.

As with most rulings of the Warren Court, these decisions delighted some and deeply disturbed others. What most people did agree upon, however, was the Court's pivotal role in shaping national policy. The Warren Court, wrote *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, "has brought about more social change than most Congresses and most Presidents."

 **Examining** What was the significance of the "One Man, One Vote" ruling?

# Section 1 REVIEW

## Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: missile gap, New Frontier, Earl Warren, reapportionment, due process.

## Main Ideas

- 2. Interpreting** In what ways was the 1960 presidential election a turning point in political campaign history?
- 3. Summarizing** What progress was made for women's rights during Kennedy's administration?
- 4. Describing** Name three decisions of the Warren Court and explain how each protected civil rights.

## Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** What were some successes and failures of Kennedy's New Frontier? How did the new programs change the lives of Americans?
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the economic policies of the Kennedy administration.

Economic Policies	

- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Look at the election map on page 825. Which states split their Electoral votes?

## Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** In his Inaugural Address, President Kennedy asked his fellow Americans to "ask what you can do for your country." Respond to this statement in an essay.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.



## Section 2

# JFK and the Cold War

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Economics and Society** The Kennedy administration used foreign aid to improve relations with Latin American countries and lessen the appeal of left-wing movements.

#### Content Vocabulary

- flexible response (p. 830)
- space race (p. 832)

#### Academic Vocabulary

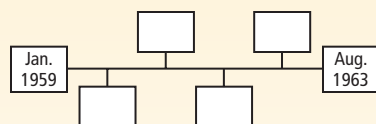
- conventional (p. 830)
- institute (p. 833)
- remove (p. 835)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Peace Corps (p. 832)
- Berlin Wall (p. 834)
- Warren Commission (p. 835)

#### Reading Strategy

**Sequencing** As you read about the crises of the Cold War, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major events of the Cold War in the 1950s and early 1960s.



During the Kennedy Administration, ongoing tensions with the Soviet Union led to crises over Cuba and West Berlin. To contain communism and stay ahead of the Soviet Union in technology, President Kennedy created aid programs for developing nations and expanded the space program.

## Containing Communism

**MAIN Idea** President Kennedy developed new programs to combat the spread of communism.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Would you consider joining the Peace Corps and serving in a foreign country? Read on to learn about Kennedy's diplomatic efforts in Latin America.

When John F. Kennedy entered the White House, he had to devote much of his time to foreign policy. The Cold War with the Soviet Union dominated all other concerns at the time, and Kennedy attempted to stop the spread of communism with a range of programs. These included a **conventional** weaponry program to give the nation's military more flexibility, a program to provide economic aid to Latin America, and the creation of the Peace Corps to help developing nations worldwide.

## A More Flexible Response

Kennedy took office at a time of growing global instability. Nationalism was exploding throughout the developing world, and the Soviet Union actively supported "wars of national liberation."

Kennedy felt that Eisenhower had relied too heavily on nuclear weapons, which could be used only in extreme situations. To allow for a "**flexible response**" if nations needed help resisting Communist movements, the president pushed for a buildup of troops and conventional weapons. Kennedy also expanded the Special Forces, an elite army unit created in the 1950s to wage guerrilla warfare in limited conflicts, and allowed the soldiers to wear their distinctive "Green Beret" headgear.

## Aid to Other Countries

Kennedy wanted to renew diplomatic focus on Latin America. Conditions in many Latin American societies were not good: Governments were often in the hands of the wealthy few and many

## PRIMARY SOURCE

### John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address



▲ John F. Kennedy delivers his inaugural speech, January 20, 1961. He spoke of the obligation of his generation to defend liberty. To his right is incoming Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

## DBQ

### Document-Based Questions

1. **Expressing** What commitment does Kennedy make with respect to human rights?
2. **Classifying** To what three specific groups does Kennedy promise aid, and what aid is promised?
3. **Finding the Main Idea** What does Kennedy indicate are the common enemies of humankind?

## PRIMARY SOURCE

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed. . . . Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty. . . .

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. . . . To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves . . . To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. . . .

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. . . .

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

—quoted in *Let the Word Go Forth*

of their citizens lived in extreme poverty. In some countries, these conditions spurred the growth of left-wing movements aimed at overthrowing their governments.

When the United States became involved in Latin America, it usually did so to help existing governments stay in power and to prevent Communist movements from flourishing. Poor Latin Americans resented this intrusion, just as they resented American corporations, whose presence was seen as a kind of imperialism.

**The Alliance for Progress** To improve relations between the United States and Latin America, Kennedy proposed an Alliance for

Progress, a series of cooperative aid projects with Latin American governments. The alliance was designed to create a "free and prosperous Latin America" that would be more stable and less likely to support Communist-inspired revolutions.

Over a 10-year period, the United States pledged \$20 billion to help Latin American countries establish better schools, housing, health care, and fairer land distribution. The results were mixed. In some countries—notably Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American republics—the alliance did promote real reform. In others, local rulers used the money to keep themselves in power.



**The Peace Corps** Another program aimed at helping less developed nations fight poverty was the **Peace Corps**, an organization that sent Americans to provide humanitarian services in less-developed nations.

After rigorous training, volunteers spent two years in countries that requested assistance. They laid out sewage systems in Bolivia and trained medical technicians in Chad. Others taught English or helped to build roads. Today, the Peace Corps is still active and remains one of Kennedy's most enduring legacies.

## The Cold War in Space

In 1961 Yuri Gagarin (YHOO•ree gah•GAHR•ihn), a Soviet astronaut, became the first person to orbit Earth. Again, as in 1957 when they launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite, the Soviets had beaten the United States in the **space race**. President Kennedy worried about the impact of the flight on the Cold War. Soviet successes in space might convince the world that communism was better than capitalism.

Less than six weeks after the Soviet flight, the president went before Congress and declared: "I believe this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon."

Kennedy's speech set in motion a massive effort to develop the necessary technology. In 1962 John Glenn became the first American to orbit Earth. Three years later, the United States sent three men into orbit in a capsule called *Apollo*. *Apollo* was launched using the Saturn V, the most powerful rocket ever built. The Saturn V was able to give both *Apollo* and the lunar module—which astronauts would use to land on the moon—enough velocity to reach the moon.

On July 16, 1969, a Saturn V lifted off in Florida, carrying three American astronauts: Neil Armstrong, Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin, and Michael Collins. On July 20 Armstrong and Aldrin boarded the lunar module, named *Eagle*, and headed down to the moon. Minutes later, Armstrong radioed NASA's flight center in Texas: "Houston . . . the *Eagle* has landed."

Armstrong became the first human being to walk on the moon. As he set foot on the lunar surface, he announced: "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." The United States had won the space race and decisively demonstrated its technological superiority over the Soviet Union.

**Reading Check** **Examining** What global challenges did Kennedy face during his presidency?

## TECHNOLOGY & HISTORY

**Space Technology** Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union fueled the space race. Both countries vied for superiority in aeronautical technology and dominance in space exploration.



▲ American astronaut John Glenn is loaded into his space capsule, named *Friendship 7*, on February 20, 1962, shortly before being launched into orbit.



▲ John Glenn in orbit around Earth

◀ NASA recruited seven astronauts for its first manned space program. Each astronaut would ride in a Mercury capsule atop an ICBM reconfigured to lift them into space. The first American astronaut to ride into space in the capsule was Alan Shepard. The first American to orbit Earth was John Glenn.

# Crises of the Cold War

**MAIN Idea** President Kennedy faced foreign policy crises in Cuba and Berlin.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you think the embargo against Cuba should be lifted? Read on to learn about the crises President Kennedy faced over Cuba.

President Kennedy's efforts to combat Communist influence in other countries led to some of the most intense crises of the Cold War. At times these crises left Americans and people in many other nations wondering whether the world would survive.

## The Bay of Pigs

The first crisis occurred in Cuba, only 90 miles (145 km) from American shores. There, Fidel Castro had overthrown the corrupt Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Almost immediately, Castro established ties with the Soviet Union, **instituted** drastic land reforms, and seized foreign-owned businesses, many of which were American. Cuba's alliance with the Soviets worried many Americans. The Communists were now too close for comfort, and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was

also expressing his intent to strengthen Cuba militarily.

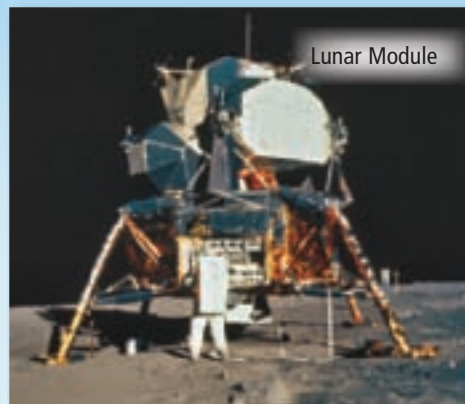
Fearing that the Soviets would use Cuba as a base from which to spread revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere, President Eisenhower had authorized the CIA to secretly train and arm a group of Cuban exiles, known as *La Brigada*, to invade the island. The invasion was intended to set off a popular uprising against Castro.

When Kennedy became president, his advisers approved the plan. In office less than three months and trusting his experts, Kennedy agreed to the operation with some changes. On April 17, 1961, some 1,400 armed Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. *La Brigada's* boats ran aground on coral reefs; Kennedy canceled their air support to keep the United States' involvement a secret; and the expected popular uprising never happened. Within two days, Castro's forces killed or captured almost all the members of *La Brigada*.

The Bay of Pigs was a dark moment for the Kennedy administration. The action exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor's government, and the outcome made the United States look weak and disorganized.



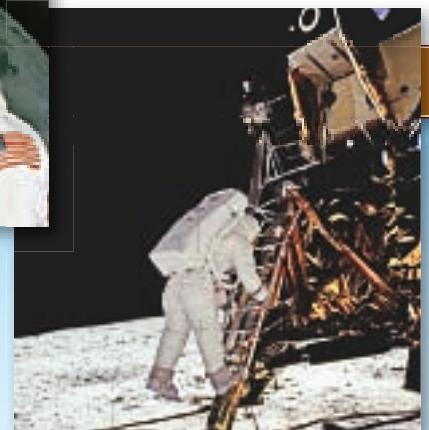
◀ Apollo capsule carried three astronauts.



▲ To reach the Moon, NASA developed the giant Saturn V rocket, which lifted a three-person capsule, called *Apollo*, and a landing craft, called the Lunar Module, into space. Once *Apollo* and the Lunar Module entered orbit around the Moon, the Lunar Module carried two astronauts from the Apollo capsule down to the Moon's surface.



▲ Neil Armstrong was the first person to walk on the Moon.



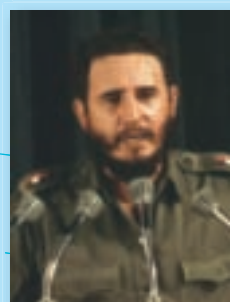
▲ Buzz Aldrin descended to the Moon's surface, July 20, 1969, becoming the second man to walk on the Moon.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Calculating** What analysis can you make about the size of the space capsules and modules used in space?
- 2. Describing** How does the Moon's surface appear in these photos?
- 3. Identifying** What was the purpose of the Lunar Module?



## The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962



▲ Fidel Castro in 1963

▼ USS Vesole intercepts a Soviet ship during the U.S. blockade on Cuba.



▲ The presence of missiles in Cuba was confirmed by aerial photographs.

### Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- 1. Location** Near what major Cuban city are the missiles placed?
- 2. Regions** What is the distance from those missiles to Miami?
- 3. Place** Where in Cuba did the Bay of Pigs invasion begin?

Maps in Motion

See *StudentWorks™ Plus* or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## The Berlin Wall Goes Up

Kennedy faced another foreign policy challenge beginning in June 1961, when he met with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria. Khrushchev wanted to stop the flood of Germans pouring out of Communist East Germany into West Berlin. He demanded that the Western powers recognize East Germany and that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw from Berlin, a city lying completely within East Germany. Kennedy refused and reaffirmed the West's commitment to West Berlin.

Khrushchev retaliated by building a wall through Berlin, blocking movement between the Soviet sector and the rest of the city. Guards posted along the wall shot at many of those attempting to escape from the East. For nearly 30 years afterward, the **Berlin Wall** stood as a visible symbol of Cold War divisions.

## The Cuban Missile Crisis

By far the most terrifying crisis of the Kennedy era occurred the next year. During the summer of 1962, American intelligence agencies learned that Soviet technicians and equipment had arrived in Cuba and that military construction was in progress. On October 22, President Kennedy announced on television that American spy planes had taken aerial photographs showing that the Soviet Union had placed long-range missiles in Cuba. Enemy missiles stationed so close to the United States posed a dangerous threat.

Kennedy ordered a naval blockade to stop the delivery of more missiles, demanded the existing missile sites be dismantled, and warned that if attacked, the United States would respond fully against the Soviet Union. Still, work on the missile sites continued. Nuclear holocaust seemed imminent.

Then, after a flurry of secret negotiations, the Soviet Union offered a deal. It would **remove** the missiles if the United States promised not to invade Cuba and to remove its missiles from Turkey near the Soviet border. The reality was that neither Kennedy nor Khrushchev wanted nuclear war. "Only lunatics . . . who themselves want to perish and before they die destroy the world, could do this," wrote the Soviet leader. On October 28, the leaders reached an agreement. Kennedy publicly agreed not to invade Cuba and privately agreed to remove the Turkish missiles; the Soviets agreed to remove their missiles from Cuba. The world could breathe again.

The Cuban missile crisis forced the United States and the Soviet Union to consider the consequences of nuclear war. In August 1963, the two countries concluded years of negotiation by agreeing to a treaty that banned testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.

In the long run, however, the missile crisis had ominous consequences. The humiliating retreat the United States forced on the Soviet leadership undermined the position of Nikita Khrushchev and contributed to his fall from power a year later. The crisis also exposed the Soviets' military inferiority and prompted a dramatic Soviet arms buildup over the next two decades. This buildup contributed to a comparable military increase in the United States in the early 1980s.

## Death of a President

Soon after the Senate ratified the test ban treaty, John F. Kennedy's presidency ended shockingly and tragically. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy and his wife traveled to Texas. As the presidential motorcade rode slowly through the crowded streets of Dallas, gunfire rang out. Someone had shot the president twice—once in the throat and once in the head. Horrified government officials sped Kennedy to a nearby hospital, where he was pronounced dead moments later.

Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing Kennedy, appeared to be a confused and embittered Marxist who had spent time in the Soviet Union. He himself was shot to death while in police custody two days after the assassination. The bizarre situation led some to speculate that the second gunman, local nightclub owner Jack Ruby, killed Oswald to protect others involved in the crime. In 1964 a national commission headed by Chief Justice Warren concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. The report of the **Warren Commission** left some questions unanswered, and theories about a conspiracy to kill the president have persisted, though none has gained wide acceptance.

In the wake of the assassination, the United States and the world went into mourning. Thousands traveled to Washington, D.C., and waited in a line several miles long outside the Capitol to walk silently past the president's flag-draped casket.

Kennedy was president for little more than 1,000 days. Yet he made a profound impression on most Americans. Kennedy's successor, Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson, set out to promote many of the programs that Kennedy left unfinished.

 **Summarizing** How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

## Section 2 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

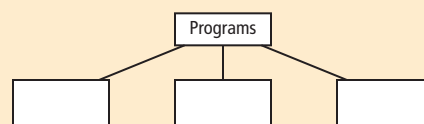
1. **Explain** the significance of: flexible response, Peace Corps, space race, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission.

### Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** What were the goals of the Alliance for Progress?
3. **Discussing** How did Kennedy and Khrushchev reach an agreement to end the Cuban missile crisis? What were the details of this agreement?

### Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** What was the role of foreign aid in relations between the United States and Latin America?
5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the programs that Kennedy used to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to try to stem communism.



6. **Analyzing Visuals** Look at the photograph of John Glenn on page 832. What is the name of his craft, and why do you think the name might have been chosen?

### Writing About History

7. **Descriptive Writing** Assume the role of an American citizen during the Cuban missile crisis. Write a journal entry describing the mood of the country during that time.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.





### Eyewitness

On May 22, 1964, **PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON** delivered a speech in Ann Arbor, Michigan, outlining his domestic agenda that would become known as “The Great Society.” Speechwriter and policy adviser Richard Goodwin watched the speech on videotape the next morning back in Washington. He recalls his reaction:

Then, with the cheers, at first muted as if the audience were surprised at their own response, then mounting toward unrestrained, accepting delight, Johnson concluded: “There are those timid souls who say . . . we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape civilization. . . . But we need your will, your labor, your hearts. . . . So let us from this moment begin our work, so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.”

Watching the film in the White House basement, almost involuntarily I added my applause to the tumultuous acclaim coming from the sound track. . . . I clapped for the President, and for our country.

### WHAT IS A PIP, ANYWAY?

Match these rock 'n' roll headliners with their supporting acts.

- |                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Paul Revere and     | a. the Union Gap |
| 2. Martha and          | b. the Supremes  |
| 3. Gary Puckett and    | c. the Miracles  |
| 4. Gladys Knight and   | d. the Vandellas |
| 5. Smokey Robinson and | e. the Raiders   |
| 6. Diana Ross and      | f. the Pips      |

### VERBATIM

“Is there any place we can catch them? What can we do? Are we working 24 hours a day? Can we go around the moon before them?”

**PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**,  
to Lyndon B. Johnson, after hearing  
that Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin had  
orbited the earth, 1961

“It was quite a day. I don’t know what you can say about a day when you see four beautiful sunsets. . . . This is a little unusual, I think.”

**COLONEL JOHN GLENN**,  
in orbit, 1962

“There are tens of millions of Americans who are beyond the welfare state. Taken as a whole there is a culture of poverty . . . bad health, poor housing, low levels of aspiration and high levels of mental distress. Twenty percent of a nation, some 32,000,000.”

**MICHAEL HARRINGTON**,  
The Culture of Poverty, 1962

“I have a dream.”

**MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**,  
1963

“I don’t see an American dream; . . . I see an American nightmare . . . . Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return.”

**MALCOLM X**,  
1964

“The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice.”

**LYNDON B. JOHNSON**,  
1964

“In 1962, the starving residents of an isolated Indian village received 1 plow and 1,700 pounds of seeds. They ate the seeds.”

**PEACE CORPS AD**,  
1965

## Space Race

*Want to capture some of the glamour and excitement of space exploration? Create a new nickname for your city. You won't be the first.*

CITY	NICKNAME
Danbury, CT	Space Age City
Muscle Shoals, AL	Space Age City
Houston, TX	Space City, USA
Galveston, TX	Space Port, USA
Cape Kennedy, FL	Spaceport, USA
Blacksburg, VA	Space Age Community
Huntsville, AL	Rocket City, USA
	Space City, USA
	Space Capital of the Nation
	Space Capital of the World



*John Glenn,  
first American  
to orbit Earth*

RALPH MORSE/TIMEX

## Milestones

**PERFORMED IN ENGLISH, 1962.** **THE CATHOLIC MASS**, following Pope John XXIII's Second Vatican Council. "Vatican II" allows the Latin mass to be translated into local languages around the world.

**ENROLLED, 1962. JAMES MEREDITH**, at the University of Mississippi, following a Supreme Court ruling that ordered his admission to the previously segregated school. Rioting and a showdown with state officials who wished to bar his enrollment preceded Meredith's entrance to classes.

**BROKEN, 1965. 25-DAY FAST BY CÉSAR CHÁVEZ**, labor organizer. His protest convinced others to join his nonviolent strike against the grape growers; shoppers boycotted table grapes in sympathy.

**STRIPPED, 1967. MUHAMMAD ALI**, of his heavyweight champion title, after refusing induction into the army following a rejection of his application for conscientious objector status. The boxer was arrested, given a five-year sentence, and fined \$10,000.

**PICKETED, 1968. THE MISS AMERICA PAGEANT** in Atlantic City, by protesters who believe the contest's emphasis on women's physical beauty is degrading and minimizes the importance of women's intellect.



AP

## NUMBERS

**7%** Percentage of African American adults registered to vote in Mississippi in 1964 before passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

**67%** Percentage of African American adults in Mississippi registered to vote in 1969

**70%** Percentage of white adults registered to vote in 1964, nationwide

**90%** Percentage of white adults registered to vote nationwide in 1969

**57** Number of days senators filibustered to hold up passage of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964

**14½** Hours duration of all-night speech delivered by Senator Robert Byrd before a cloture vote stopped the filibuster

**72%** Percentage of elementary and high school teachers who approved of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in 1961

**\$80–90** Weekly pay for a clerk/typist in New York in 1965

## CRITICAL THINKING

- Determining Cause and Effect** Who did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 help more—whites or African Americans? Explain your answer.
- Speculating** Why do you think President Kennedy was eager to best the Soviets in space?

## Section 3

# The Great Society

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Individual Action** President Lyndon B. Johnson relied on his experience and persuasiveness to get civil rights and antipoverty bills enacted.

#### Content Vocabulary

- consensus (p. 839)

#### Academic Vocabulary

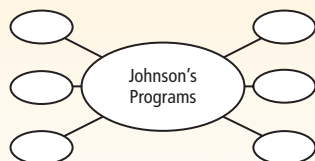
- confine (p. 841)
- subsidy (p. 842)

#### People and Events to Identify

- War on Poverty (p. 839)
- VISTA (p. 840)
- Barry Goldwater (p. 840)
- Great Society (p. 841)
- Medicare (p. 841)
- Medicaid (p. 841)
- Head Start (p. 842)
- Robert Weaver (p. 842)

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about Lyndon Johnson's presidency, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the social and economic programs started during his administration.



Lyndon B. Johnson had decades of experience in Congress and was skilled in getting legislation enacted. When he became president, he moved quickly to push for passage of a civil rights bill and antipoverty legislation.

## Johnson Takes the Reins

**MAIN Idea** President Johnson's experience in Congress helped him push through a civil rights bill and new laws to fight poverty.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How do you think someone's early life affects their career choices? Read on to learn how Lyndon Johnson's early life prepared him for the presidency.

At 2:38 P.M. on November 22, 1963, just hours after President Kennedy had been pronounced dead, Lyndon B. Johnson stood in the cabin of *Air Force One*, the president's plane, with Kennedy's widow on one side of him and his wife, Claudia, known as "Lady Bird," on the other. Johnson raised his right hand, placed his left hand on a Bible, and took the oath of office.

Within days of the assassination, Johnson appeared before Congress and urged the nation to move forward and build on Kennedy's legacy: "The ideas and ideals which [Kennedy] so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action," he declared. "John Kennedy's death commands what his life conveyed—that America must move forward."

The United States that President Lyndon B. Johnson inherited from John F. Kennedy appeared to be a booming, bustling place. Away from the nation's affluent suburbs, however, was another country, one inhabited by the poor, the ill-fed, the ill-housed, and the ill-educated. Writer Michael Harrington examined the nation's impoverished areas in his 1962 book, *The Other America*. Harrington claimed that, while the truly poor numbered almost 50 million, they remained largely hidden in city slums, in Appalachia, in the Deep South, and on Native American reservations. Soon after taking office, Lyndon Johnson decided to launch an antipoverty crusade.

## Johnson's Leadership Style

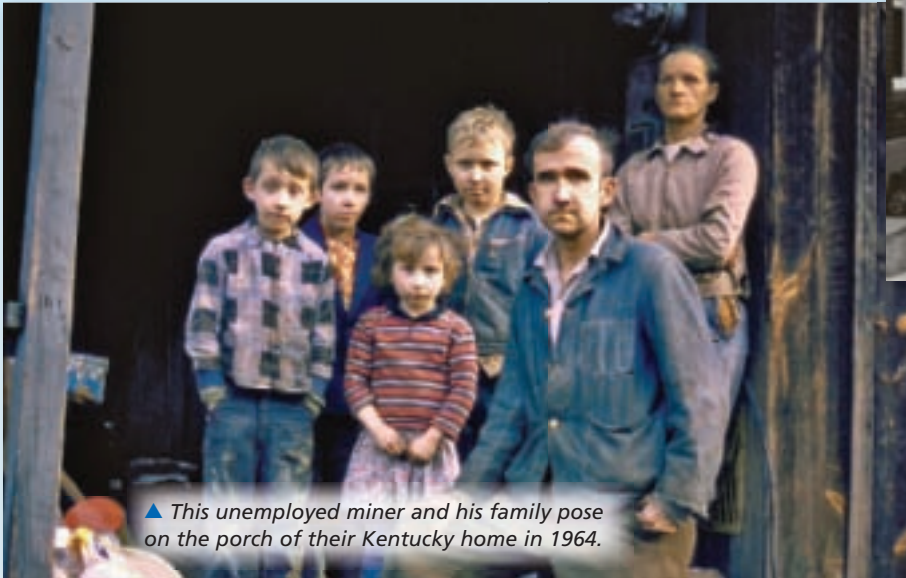
Lyndon Baines Johnson was born and raised in the "hill country" of central Texas, near the banks of the Pedernales River. He remained a Texan in his heart, and his style posed a striking contrast with Kennedy's. He was a man of impressive stature who spoke directly, convincingly, and even roughly at times.



## PRIMARY SOURCE

### The Other America

When President Johnson launched the War on Poverty in 1964, he wanted programs that would help all impoverished Americans, rural and urban.



▲ This unemployed miner and his family pose on the porch of their Kentucky home in 1964.



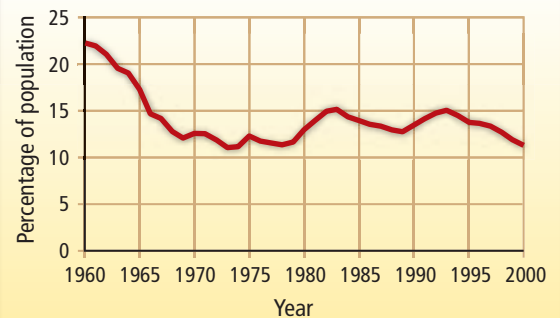
▲ Low-income residents sweep the front stoops of their row houses in Baltimore, Maryland, in the early 1960s.

### Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Evaluating** Do you find anything hopeful in the photographs shown?
- Interpreting** Based on the data in the chart, how successful was Johnson's War on Poverty?

### Poverty Rate in America, 1960–2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Johnson had honed his style in long years of public service. By the time he became president at age 55, he already had 26 years of congressional experience behind him. He had been a congressional staffer, a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, Senate majority leader, and vice president.

During his career Johnson earned a reputation as a man who got things done. He did favors, twisted arms, bargained, flattered, and threatened. With every technique he could think of, Johnson sought to find **consensus**, or general agreement. His ability to build coalitions had made him one of the most effective and powerful leaders in the Senate's history.

## A War on Poverty

Why was this powerful man so concerned about poor people? Although Johnson liked to exaggerate the poor conditions of his child-

hood for dramatic effect, he had in fact known hard times. He had also seen extreme poverty firsthand in a brief career as a teacher in a low-income area. Johnson believed deeply in social action. He felt that a wealthy, powerful government could and should try to improve the lives of its citizens. Kennedy himself had said of Johnson, "He really cares about this nation." Finally, there was Johnson's ambition. He wanted history to portray him as a great president. Attacking poverty was a good place to begin.

Kennedy had plans for an antipoverty program and a civil rights bill before his death. President Johnson knew that any program linked to the slain president would be very popular. In his State of the Union address in 1964, Johnson told his audience: "Unfortunately, many Americans live on the outskirts of hope, some because of their poverty and some because of their color and all too many because of both." He concluded by declaring an "unconditional **War on Poverty** in America."

By the summer of 1964, Johnson had convinced Congress to pass the Economic Opportunity Act. This legislation attacked inadequate public services, illiteracy, and unemployment as three major causes of poverty. The act established 10 new programs within a new government agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Many of the new programs were directed at young Americans living in inner cities.


The Neighborhood Youth Corps provided work-study programs to help underprivileged young men and women earn a high school diploma or college degree. The Job Corps helped unemployed people ages 16–21 acquire job skills. One of the more dramatic programs introduced was **VISTA** (Volunteers in Service to America), which was essentially a domestic Peace Corps. VISTA put young people with skills and community-minded ideals to work in poor neighborhoods and rural areas to help people overcome poverty. Additional programs included Upward Bound, which offered tutoring to high school students, and a Work Experience Program, which provided day care and other support for those in poor households to enable them to work.

## The Election of 1964

In April 1964 *Fortune* magazine observed, “Lyndon Johnson has achieved a breadth of public approval few observers would have believed possible when he took office.” Johnson had little time to enjoy such praise, for he was soon to run for the office he had first gained through a tragic event.

The Republican candidate in the 1964 election was Senator **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona. Known for his strong conservatism, he set the tone for his campaign when he accepted his party’s nomination, declaring, “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!”

Few Americans were ready to embrace Goldwater’s message, which seemed too aggressive for a nation nervous about nuclear war. On Election Day, Johnson won in a landslide, gaining more than 61 percent of the popular vote and winning all but six states in the Electoral College.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What inspired the War on Poverty? Why was Johnson able to convince Congress to pass it?

## PAST & PRESENT

### VISTA Continues the War on Poverty

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) began in 1965 as part of President Johnson’s War on Poverty. Its focus was to help people help themselves, offering money and programs to low-income communities. Many young people during the idealistic 1960s who weren’t able to serve abroad in the Peace Corps program chose instead to work with VISTA. Since the program began, more than 140,000 people have served.

In 1993 VISTA became part of the government agency AmeriCorps. Today, more than 1,200 projects across the nation attempt to make gains in bridging the technology gap, increase housing opportunities, improve health care services, and strengthen community organizations. Volunteers, who must be at least 18, usually work for a year in VISTA-sponsored projects through local, state, or federal agencies or nonprofit, public, or private organizations. In 2006 VISTA had nearly 6,000 volunteers.

1973



▲ In 1973, Leroy Sneed was a VISTA member in his hometown of Mitchellville, South Carolina, where he was involved in home-repair and community organizing. Here he talks with a homeowner about rebuilding or repairing her home.



# The Great Society

**MAIN Idea** Great Society programs provided assistance to disadvantaged Americans.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What reforms do you think might help reduce poverty today? Read on to learn about the antipoverty programs initiated by President Johnson.

After his election, Johnson began working with Congress to create the “**Great Society**” he had promised during his campaign. In this same period, major goals of the civil rights movement were achieved through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which barred discrimination of many kinds, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which protected voters from discriminatory practices.

Johnson’s goals were consistent with the times for several reasons. The civil rights movement had brought the grievances of African Americans to the forefront, reminding many that equality of opportunity had yet to be realized. Economics also supported Johnson’s goal. The economy was strong, and many believed it would remain so indefinitely. There was no

reason to believe, therefore, that poverty could not be significantly reduced.

Johnson elaborated on the Great Society’s goals during a speech at the University of Michigan in May of 1964. It was clear that the president did not intend only to expand relief to the poor or to **confine** government efforts to material things. The president wanted, he said, to build a better society “where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, . . . where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.”

This ambitious vision encompassed more than 60 programs that were initiated between 1965 and 1968. Among the most significant programs were **Medicare** and **Medicaid**. Health care reform had been a major issue since the days of Harry Truman. By the 1960s, public support for better health care benefits had solidified. Medicare had especially strong support since it was directed at all senior citizens. In 1965 approximately half of all Americans over the age of 65 had no health insurance.

2005

◀ Members of AmeriCorps clear debris from a home in Pass Christian, Mississippi, following Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

## MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. **Analyzing** How does volunteering help both the volunteer and the communities served?
2. **Problem Solving** What challenges in your town or city could AmeriCorps help address? What would you do to solve these challenges?



## What Was the Great Society?

### Health and Welfare

**Medicare** (1965) established a comprehensive health insurance program for all senior citizens; financed through the Social Security system.

**Medicaid** (1965) provided health and medical assistance to low-income families; funded through federal and state governments.

**Child Nutrition Act** (1966) established a school breakfast program and expanded the school lunch and milk programs to improve nutrition.

### Education

**Elementary and Secondary Education Act** (1965) targeted aid to students and funded related activities such as adult education and education counseling.

**Higher Education Act** (1965) supported college tuition scholarships, student loans, and work-study programs for low- and middle-income students.

**Project Head Start** (1965) funded a preschool program for disadvantaged children.

### The War on Poverty

**Office of Economic Opportunity** (1964) oversaw many programs to improve life in inner cities, including Job Corps, an education and job training program for at-risk youth.

**Housing and Urban Development Act** (1965) established new housing subsidy programs and made federal loans and public housing grants easier to obtain.

**Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act** (1966) revitalized urban areas through a variety of social and economic programs.

### Consumer and Environmental Protection

**Water Quality Act and Clean Air Acts** (1965) supported development of standards and goals for water and air quality.

**Highway Safety Act** (1966) improved federal, state, and local coordination and created training standards for emergency medical technicians.

**Fair Packaging and Labeling Act** (1966) required all consumer products to have true and informative labels.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Interpreting** What was the purpose of the Water Quality and Clean Air Acts of 1965?
- 2. Evaluating** Which of the Great Society programs do you think had the most effect on American life? Why do you think so?

Johnson convinced Congress to set up Medicare as a health insurance program funded through the Social Security system. Medicare's twin program, Medicaid, financed health care for welfare recipients who were living below the poverty line. Like the New Deal's Social Security program, both programs created what have been called "entitlements," that is, they entitle certain categories of Americans to benefits. Today, the cost of these programs has become a permanent part of the federal budget.

Great Society programs also strongly supported education. For Johnson, who had taught school as a young man, education was a personal passion. Vice President Hubert Humphrey once said that Johnson "was a nut on education. . . . [He] believed in it, just like some people believe in miracle cures."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 granted millions of dollars to public and private schools for textbooks, library materials, and special education programs. Efforts to improve education also extended to preschoolers through Project **Head Start**.

Administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Head Start was directed at disadvantaged children who had "never looked at a picture book or scribbled with a crayon." Another program, Upward Bound, was designed to prepare low-income teenagers for college.

Improvements in health and education were only the beginning of the Great Society programs. Conditions in the cities—poor schools, crime, slum housing, poverty, and pollution—blighted the lives of those who dwelled there. Johnson urged Congress to act on several pieces of legislation addressing urban issues. One created a new cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in 1965. Its first secretary, **Robert Weaver**, was the first African American to serve in the cabinet. A broad-based program informally called "Model Cities" authorized federal **subsidies** to many cities. The funds, matched by local and state contributions, supported programs to improve transportation, health care, housing, and policing. Since many

urban areas lacked sufficient or affordable housing, legislation also authorized about \$8 billion to build houses for low- and middle-income people.

One notable Great Society measure changed the composition of the American population: the Immigration Act of 1965. This act eliminated the national origins system established in the 1920s, which had given preference to northern European immigrants. The new measure opened wider the door of the United States to newcomers from all parts of Europe, as well as from Asia and Africa.

## The Great Society's Legacy

The Great Society programs touched nearly every aspect of American life and improved thousands, perhaps millions, of lives. In the years since President Johnson left office, however, debate has continued over whether the Great Society was truly a success.


In many ways, the impact of the Great Society was limited. In his rush to accomplish as much as possible, Johnson did not calculate exactly how his programs might work. As a result, some of them did not work as well as hoped. Furthermore, the programs grew so quickly they were often unmanageable and difficult to evaluate.

Cities, states, and groups eligible for aid began to expect immediate and life-changing benefits. These expectations left many feeling frustrated and angry. Other Americans opposed the massive growth of federal programs and criticized the Great Society for intruding too much into their lives.

A lack of funds also hindered the effectiveness of Great Society programs. When Johnson attempted to fund both his grand domestic agenda and the increasingly costly war in Vietnam, the Great Society eventually suffered. Some Great Society initiatives have survived to the present, however. These include Medicare and Medicaid, two cabinet agencies—the Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)—and Project Head Start. Overall, the programs provided some important benefits to poorer communities and gave political and administrative experience to minority groups.

An important legacy of the Great Society was the questions it produced. How can the federal government help disadvantaged citizens? How much government help can a society provide without weakening the private sector? How much help can people receive without losing motivation to fight against hardships on their own?

Lyndon Johnson took office determined to change the United States in a way few other presidents had attempted. If he fell short, it was perhaps that the goals he set were so high. In evaluating the administration's efforts, the *New York Times* wrote, "The walls of the ghettos are not going to topple overnight, nor is it possible to wipe out the heritage of generations of social, economic, and educational deprivation by the stroke of a Presidential pen."

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the Great Society programs, and what was their impact?

## Section 3 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: consensus, War on Poverty, VISTA, Barry Goldwater, Great Society, Medicare, Medicaid, Head Start, Robert Weaver.

### Main Ideas

- 2. Analyzing** How did Johnson's War on Poverty strive to ensure greater fairness in American society?
- 3. Describing** Which Great Society programs supported education? How did these programs help?

### Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas** How did President Johnson carry on the ideals of President Kennedy?
- 5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list five of the Great Society initiatives that have survived to the present.

Great Society Initiatives

- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Look at the graph on page 839. When was poverty at its lowest in the U.S.?

### Writing About History

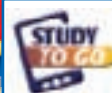
- 7. Descriptive Writing** Assume the role of a biographer. Write a chapter in a biography of Lyndon Johnson in which you compare and contrast his leadership style to that of John Kennedy.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.



# Chapter 24 VISUAL SUMMARY



You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## Domestic Programs of the 1960s

- A growing awareness of poverty, as well as concern for women's rights and the rights of various minority groups, leads to a series of new programs known as the War on Poverty and the Great Society.
- The President's Commission on the Status of Women is established and the Equal Pay Act of 1963 is passed.
- New programs aid the developmentally disabled.
- Office of Economic Opportunity is established to fight poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and disease.
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits race discrimination and social segregation, and the Voting Rights Act protects universal suffrage.
- Medicare and Medicaid Acts are passed to provide federal medical aid to senior citizens and poor.
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act is passed to increase aid for public schools.



▲ VISTA volunteers work to curb delinquency by counseling and helping troubled children and their families.



▲ The U.S. Navy ship, the Vesole, intercepts the missile-carrying Soviet ship Potzunov as it leaves Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

## Foreign Policy of the 1960s

- Kennedy pledges to end Eisenhower's reliance on nuclear weapons and to use new methods to prevent the spread of communism.
- Kennedy introduces the "flexible response" policy—building up both nuclear missiles and conventional forces.
- The United States pledges aid to struggling Latin American nations.
- Peace Corps sends volunteers to help in poor countries.
- The United States aids Cuban exiles trying to overthrow Castro, but their landing at the Bay of Pigs fails.
- Soviet missiles in Cuba lead to the Cuban missile crisis; the United States blockades Cuba and the Soviets remove the missiles.
- The U.S. and Soviet Union sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

## Supreme Court Cases of the 1960s

- Led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court makes a series of decisions that dramatically change American society and the federal government's relationship to citizens.
- In *Reynolds v. Sims* the Court requires states to adhere to the principle of one person, one vote.
- In four cases, *Mapp v. Ohio*, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, *Escobedo v. Illinois*, and *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Court extends due process, giving more protection to those accused of crimes.
- In *Abington School District v. Schemp*, the Court rules that states cannot require prayer and Bible readings in public schools.



▲ Clarence Earl Gideon was denied counsel during a trial in Florida in 1961. His case eventually went to the Supreme Court.



## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

### TEST-TAKING TIP

To answer vocabulary questions 2–4 below, first look at the terms listed as answers. See if you can mentally define each one. Then read the question to select the right answer.

### Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best completes the sentence.

- Reapportionment, as ruled on by the Warren Court, is
  - the requirement of separate but equal facilities for schools.
  - the process courts must follow when trying cases to treat individuals fairly.
  - the way in which political districts are drawn based on population changes.
  - the separation of church and state for schools.
- The policy called \_\_\_\_\_ helped nations resist Communism by building up conventional troops and weapons.
  - military-industrial complex
  - containment
  - mutual assured destruction
  - flexible response
- \_\_\_\_\_ means that the law may not treat individuals unfairly or unreasonably and must treat all individuals equally.
  - Reapportionment
  - Consensus
  - Due process
  - Judicial review
- President Johnson was successful at building coalitions and finding a \_\_\_\_\_, or general agreement.
  - discord
  - consensus
  - accord
  - variance

### Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

#### Section 1 (pp. 824–829)

- During the presidential election of 1960, Kennedy focused his campaign message on
  - bridging the “missile gap” between the United States and the Soviet Union.
  - continuing the foreign policy of the current administration.
  - how the Democrats’ fiscal policies would boost inflation and harm the economy.
  - how Catholicism would influence his decision-making as president.
- Congress defeated which of the following proposals of Kennedy’s New Frontier?
  - raising the minimum wage
  - investing funds in defense and space exploration
  - health care for senior citizens
  - providing funds to build low-income housing
- The Warren Court decision requiring that a defendant in a state court had the right to a lawyer, regardless of his or her ability to pay, was
  - Engel v. Vitale*.
  - Griswold v. Connecticut*.
  - Plessy v. Ferguson*.
  - Gideon v. Wainwright*.

#### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Go to Page . . .	828	830	829	839	824	826	829

**GO ON** 

# Chapter 24

## Section 2 (pp. 830–835)

8. Kennedy attempted to reduce the threat of nuclear war and stop the spread of communism by
  - A withdrawing aid from Latin American countries.
  - B withdrawing troops from limited military conflicts.
  - C creating the Peace Corps.
  - D encouraging growth in the automotive industry to assure that capitalism was superior to communism.
9. How did Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev respond when Western powers refused to withdraw from West Berlin?
  - A sent long-range missiles to Cuba
  - B built a wall through Berlin, blocking movement between the Soviet Union and Western nations
  - C enlisted *La Brigada* to invade Cuba and remove Castro from power
  - D airlifted food and supplies to Berlin to end a blockade by American forces

## Section 3 (pp. 838–843)

10. Which Johnson program provided work-study opportunities to help young people earn high school diplomas or attend college?
  - A the Neighborhood Youth Corps
  - B VISTA
  - C the Peace Corps
  - D AmeriCorps
11. Medicare and Medicaid were major accomplishments of
  - A Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.
  - B John F. Kennedy's New Frontier.
  - C Richard Nixon's New Federalism.
  - D Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.
12. Which idea was part of Johnson's Great Society?
  - A eliminating government-funded health care for senior citizens
  - B increasing federal aid for education
  - C opposing civil rights legislation
  - D increasing foreign aid to Cuba

### Need Extra Help?

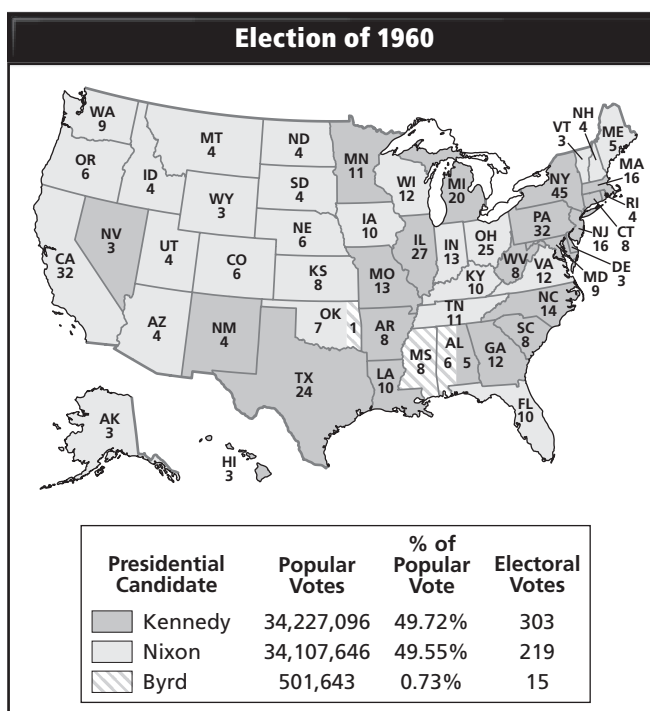
If You Missed Questions . . .	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Go to Page . . .	832	834	840	841–842	842	843	R15

## Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. How did the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 change the composition of the American population?
  - A It set strict limits on the number of immigrants admitted to the United States.
  - B It did not allow any immigrants to enter the United States from Eastern Europe.
  - C It continued the national origins system, which gave preference to northern European immigrants.
  - D It opened the United States to individuals from all over the world, including Asia and Africa.

Base your answer to question 14 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 24.



14. Which region of the country gave Kennedy the most electoral votes?
  - A Pacific Northwest
  - B Northeast
  - C Southwest
  - D Midwest

**GO ON**

15. President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society is similar to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in that both programs
- A sought ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to guarantee equality for women.
  - B advocated passage of civil rights laws to help African Americans.
  - C approved efforts by states to reduce taxes for the middle class.
  - D supported federal funding of programs for the poor.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 24.



16. According to the cartoon, what is Johnson trying to do?
- A Johnson wants to give more money to the arms race and military establishments.
  - B Johnson is trying to give health, education, and welfare programs more money.
  - C Military establishments and arms costs are giving money to social programs.
  - D Social programs are receiving more money than the military.

## Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Although the standard of living for most Americans rose dramatically throughout the 1960s, some Americans remained mired in poverty. Read the excerpt below in which John Rath discusses his personal experiences with coping with poverty in his sparsely furnished room in Chicago:

*"I came home to an empty room. I don't even have a dog. No, this is not the kind of life I would choose. If a man had a little piece of land or something, a farm, or well . . . anyway, you've got to have something. You sit down in a place like this, you grit your teeth, you follow me? So many of them are doing that, they sit down, they don't know what to do, they go out. I see 'em in the middle of the night, they take a walk. Don't know what to do. Have no home environment, don't have a dog, don't have nothing . . . just a big zero."*

—quoted in *Division Street: America*

- 17. What does Rath think might help him to have some purpose in his life?
- 18. What does he mean when he says: "You sit down in a place like this, you grit your teeth . . ."?

## Extended Response

- 19. Discuss why President Johnson proposed the Great Society and how his initiatives were intended to bring about social change. Then evaluate the extent to which the Great Society succeeded in meeting its goals. Write a well-organized essay that includes an introduction, several paragraphs, and a conclusion. Establish a framework that goes beyond a simple restatement of facts and draws a conclusion about the effectiveness of Johnson's programs.

**STOP**

**History**  **ONLINE**

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 24 at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	15	16	17	18	19
Go to Page . . .	842	R18	R19	R19	838–843